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AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
ELECTORS OF NORWICH,

BEING A
VINDICATION
OF THE
PRINCIPLES AND CONDUCT

Mr. WINDHAM's OPPONENTS,

R AT
The late Election,

12th JULY, 1794.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A

LETTER FROM J. MINGAY, ESQ.

SECOND EDITION.

Norwich:

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AN
ADDRESS

TO THE

BIGOTRY OR JOURNALISM

BY A FRIEND

VINDICATION

TO THE

PROMPTNESS AND COURTESY

TO

MR. WINDHAM, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT



THE LIVERPOOL

JULY 17, 1820.

POST OFFICE

CHARLES HADFORD

CONTRIBUTOR

LETTER FROM LIVERPOOL JULY 1820

LIVERPOOL, JULY 17, 1820.

CHARLES HADFORD, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,

LIVERPOOL, JULY 17, 1820.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THAT the purpose of the following ADDRESS may be generally understood, it is necessary to observe, that it is intended to record the sentiments of those who opposed Mr. WINDHAM's re-election for the city of NORWICH. The object of the writer, who undertook the task, at the desire of many respectable persons, was not so much to vindicate the party from the foul and undeserved charge of Jacobinism, as to preserve a sort of register of their opinions, upon the subject of this disastrous and absurd war.

On account of many unfavourable circumstances, the opposition to Mr. WINDHAM has been unsuccesful. But if the shortness of the time, as well as other various difficulties, be considered, it cannot be a matter of great surprize that our efforts were ineffectual; and, perhaps, the opposite party would abate somewhat of the arrogance of their exultation, if they would condescend to consider them.

Mr. WINDHAM arrived with the writ in his pocket on the 8th, and the election closed on the 12th of JULY. Those electors who opposed the War-Minister, taken by surprize, had not even thought of a Candidate, till a considerable time after the canvass on the other side was begun. On the WEDNESDAY morning, BARTLETT GURNEY, Esq. was proposed at a large and respectable meeting; and a deputation waited upon him in the after-

noon of the same day. At this conference, although Mr. GURNEY's assent was not actually obtained, it was not supposed that his reluctance was positive and decided. In the mean time, a canvass of such unexpected success was carried on in his favour, that the opposite party began to exhibit symptoms of apprehension and dismay.

On the day, however, previous to the election, Mr. GURNEY disavowed all intentions of coming forward; and the party, who supported his cause, were at this late period obliged to seek for another candidate. Mr. IVES, of this city, was next applied to; but he refused. A meeting was then called, at which JAMES MINGAY, Esq. was proposed. Notwithstanding the very obvious disadvantage of the absence of the candidate, who was then in LONDON, as well as that of the divided and distracted state of the party, 770 unsolicited and honourable votes appeared in his favour.

The following Address is a calm and moderate exposition of our motives and principles. The topics, on which it touches, would have justified greater boldness of stricture, and greater warmth of remonstrance. But the writer, for very obvious reasons, has adopted a style of mild and gentle complaint, rather than that of turbulent and impetuous feeling.

It has been said, that Mr. MINGAY was averse to his nomination; and a letter, which he sent to the Sheriffs, was published, in order to propagate such an idea. It has, therefore, been thought proper to insert a letter from that gentleman, in which he has avowed, in an eloquent and manly manner, his feelings on such an occasion.

ADDRESS,

A D D R E S S, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AFTER a few hours of unsuccessful struggle, we retire from it, disappointed, but not subdued. Since so short an interval was allowed us, and since we had to encounter other very obvious disadvantages, we should betray a very unbecoming petulance, were we to express any dissatisfaction at the weakness and incompetency of the support we met with. Our poll was at least a respectable one; and those who voted with us, gave us an independent and unsolicited suffrage. We began with very flattering auspices, if the almost universal clamour of a large and populous city, and if loud and reiterated expressions of public opinion, afforded any prospect of a successful contest. Still, however, we have not succeeded; but in the failure which we have experienced, we find very little reason for total and absolute despair, and much less reason for a condemnation of our attempt, on the score either of its rashness or impropriety.

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We are, therefore, willing to allow our adversaries the full and complete indulgence of their feelings of triumph over our defeat. But though we have been unsuccessful, we will assert that we have not been criminal. Our exertions have been manly, generous, and voluntary. Our grounds of opposition to your new *war-minister* have been just and rational. We have, indeed, been separated in the contest by very broad and distinct lines of difference; and it is in this very distance of our separation from our opponents, that we find no trivial part of our best satisfactions and sincerest consolations. For on the one side, the partizans of Mr. WINDHAM have contributed to the continuance of an absurd and fruitless war against FRANCE; and on the other hand, the enemies to such a war have stepped forward, with a determined and manly tone of opposition, to lessen the weight of that influence by which it has been hitherto maintained, and by an increase of which it is proposed to secure its future continuance. These have been the principles on which we opposed that gentleman's election, and we take no shame to ourselves for having acted upon them.

Gentlemen, we make these professions of our motives and principles, without any apprehension or diffidence. We are, however, aware, that
motives

motives and principles directly opposite to these have been most industriously and earnestly imputed to us. Your representative himself, with a modesty that becomes only a retainer of the Court, or a member of the Cabinet, has publicly ascribed them to us. With him, there is no alternative, but to support his election, or to be infected with notions of Jacobinism, and with the sentiments of the FRENCH Revolutionists.--- In such notions, and in such sentiments, according to him, the opposition, in which we have taken an active part, first originated. This language he has not been ashamed to hold; as if he united all the functions of government in his own person; as if a detestation of a political changeling were treason to the constitution; and as if there were no other test of loyalty to the country, but a paltry and servile attachment to principles, which have no stability, and a mean and creeping confidence in professions which deserve no credit.

We well know, that in contested elections, nothing is more common among those who are striving for a peculiar object, than to stoop to the basest artifices and the meanest condescensions, to obtain it. At such times men think themselves absolved, as it were, from the allegiance they owe to justice and honour, and that they are allowed to shake off the yoke of all honest

principle and ingenuous sentiment. But there is scarcely a single instance, in the whole history of these contests, in which one of the candidates has attempted to suppress all kind of opposition to him, by one general and undistinguishing mass of reproach and calumny. Coming merely from the partizans of Mr. WINDHAM, the charge of Jacobinism and disaffection to the state would have had no claim to the slightest animadversion. From the heated passions, and from the gross and vulgar dispositions of that faction, it would have been ridiculous to expect a sort of liberality, for which they have never been eminently distinguished among their fellow-citizens. We do not expect to reap, where nothing has been sown. It would have been somewhat miraculous, that they should now have paid a reverence to truth and to candour, which they have been so little disposed to display at any time; and at a moment when all good faith and sincerity among men are suspended, that they should observe any thing like a severe and punctilious morality. Of the misrepresentations of such men, we do not complain; for it is highly natural, when they found themselves so much the inferiors of their adversaries, in talents and integrity, that they should aspire at a contemptible superiority over us, in the arts of vulgar defamation and abuse.

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But when the accusation has been made by the leader of that party, it cannot but strike us as a foul and abominable injustice. What advantage he supposed would result from the insinuation, it is not necessary to inquire. It must be confessed, that it displayed feelings of no common bitterness and malignity. It discovered a lofty and over-bearing mind, bloated with proud and arrogant projects, too stubborn and imperious to bear opposition; too disingenuous and intractable to sooth or conciliate it. It shewed likewise, how little of the moral feeling remains amidst the total dereliction and oblivion of public duty, and that the common impressions of justice and truth are obliterated by a contempt of public faith and integrity. In this light, perhaps, the conduct of Mr. WINDHAM may not be unprofitable, if it illustrates the nature of political dishonesty, by shewing to us, that he who has offended against one duty, is in danger of losing all reverence for the other subordinate but important obligations of life.

We are charged in this indecent and impudent manner, with JACOBINISM! We have lately been so very assiduously reminded of the horrors and iniquities of Jacobinism, that we have been in the habits of esteeming it a sort of allegory

gory of all that is cruel, bloody, and wicked. But we must begin to suspect that there is something amiable in the system we are taught to abhor, if those persons are Jacobins who oppose the present absurd war, and who reprobate such men as, by a dereliction of former principles and sentiments, seek to perpetuate and increase its calamities. If such a conduct constitutes this atrocious crime, we are guilty to the most dreadful extent of the offence; but, unlike other criminals, it is in the crime itself that we look for our pardon. It is in the accusation itself, that we discover a store of honest triumph and congratulation.

Yes, gentlemen, we are guilty of having sought to check the operation of a blind system of hostilities. We have seen in that system as small a display of civil wisdom, as of military foresight. We assert it to have been pernicious in its principles; we feel that it has been unfortunate in its progress. We have observed that it has been defeated by a series of errors and disgraces, of perplexities and contradictions. We have seen the arrangements of one day dissolved by the blunders of the next; while a plan and a misfortune, an attempt and a failure, have followed each other in a sad and disastrous succession.

During the progress, therefore, of this French war, we have had but slender consolations, and but gloomy prospects. We cannot, indeed, but have felt some kind of pleasure at the advantages which we have gained, from time to time, in the contest. But it has very often been the characteristic of our victories, that they have worn the countenance of disgraces : for at best that is but an ambiguous and questionable kind of victory, which requires not a little study and attention to discriminate it from defeat. It would not, however, be a matter of great surprize, were we not to have experienced the same emotions of joy and exultation with our fellow-citizens, even at our most decided advantages. Those very events which fill the foolish with confidence, are wont to strike the considerate with dismay. Every success serves, in a great measure, to encourage and provoke us to persevere in a project, in which it is destined that we should be ultimately unsuccessful. It inspires us with a fresh portion of that bitter arrogance, which first dictated and still upholds our attempt against France ; and what is by far the worst consequence, it puts the prospect of a mediation at almost an infinite distance.

With such impressions, it cannot be expected that we should partake of that intoxicating confidence

fidence which the Minister of this country has felt, or pretended to feel, and which he would communicate to others. He may know how to breathe in this turbulent and loathsome atmosphere; but we cannot enjoy such a scene of confusion and inquietude, although he can ride, like the genius of the storm, upon the contending elements, and behold the conflict with complacence and tranquillity.

We are for the most part men of plain, and not subtle understandings. We perceive the effects of the war, in the decay of our trade, and in the universal ruin of our commerce. We can see in the numberless objects of distress, with which our streets are crowded, in those creatures of silent and quiet sufferance, concerning whom our *war-minister* is so little disturbed, all the calamities of our situation, as it were, dreadfully personified. There may indeed be reasons, and weighty and cogent ones, for the continuance of such calamities, which we ought not to penetrate nor examine. Perhaps those reasons which, to the hirelings of the Court, may appear irresistible and conclusive, to our weak and simple reflections might appear frivolous, evasive, and incompetent. Alas! we are unaccustomed to those deep and mysterious affairs of state, which lie so far beyond the reach of our homely and ordinary judgments.

ments. We are unable to unravel the thread of those metaphysical subtleties which promise a national benefit in what appears to us a national evil. We know so little of ministerial logic, as not to be convinced that the cause of the civilized world depends on the utter loss and stagnation of our commercial intercourses, and that by the most gigantic efforts, of which we are capable, we can destroy the government of another country. We cannot but begin to despair, when they who lead us into our difficulties are beginning to hope; and our untaught and vulgar intellects are incapable of deriving consolation from disgrace, defeat, and disaster.

With such notions, we could not act as became good and conscientious men, but by opposing, as far as we could, the continuance of a heavy calamity; and we did this, by opposing the re-election of Mr. WINDHAM, one of the instruments by which it is intended to prolong it.—A war has been entered into, rashly, and precipitately; it has been continued without a probability of success. Defeat follows close upon defeat, and in one disastrous campaign, every hope, which first encouraged and incited us, has been deceived. By the prolongation of such a war, our trade has been entirely destroyed, and all commercial intercourse obstructed and endangered.

gered. In the mean time, that very combination of men, whose councils first deluded us into our misfortunes, after flying to a variety of projects, at last endeavour to strengthen their cabal by an union with the antient avowed enemies to their power and principles.

Gentlemen, we could not but feel with the acutest regret Mr. WINDHAM's alienation from the cause of the people. The secession of so many illustrious names from their old sentiments and professions, if it is not a subject of shame to them, must ever be a source of uneasiness to us. Such derelictions dispose us to a kind of political scepticism. They lead us to imagine that all who act on the public stage are all equally corrupt,---actuated only by the lure of place and pension; that their professions are as light as air, and that all their engagements are fugitive, precarious, and treacherous. They encourage more than any seditious writing, which our Attorney-General ever prosecuted, disaffection to the state; for they naturally teach us to consider our government as a confederacy of dexterous tricksters and deceivers.

Such a desertion, therefore, as has lately taken place among our popular leaders, could not be a very pleasing theme of reflection to us. But when

when we see that such men have been bribed by the Crown to uphold by their influence a declining and ruinous war, to add a new vigour to its exhausted and sinking exertions, to prolong a calamity which had almost consumed and wasted itself away, we could not but condemn such an apostacy as a crime of still deeper and more serious malignity.

Nothing can be conjectured concerning the object of this singular conjunction, but that it is intended to uphold the declining popularity of the authors of our troubles. It is no weak presumption, that they are unable to guide themselves from the labyrinth into which they rushed with such a proud and wanton temerity. Unless they began to distrust their resources, and to perceive the weakness and insufficiency of the means by which the war was to be carried on, it cannot be conceived that they would court an alliance, in so many respects a discordant one, and of which, at other times and in less critical circumstances, they would shew a supreme and arrogant contempt. It cannot be expected likewise, that the original parents of the war, if they were not ashamed of their offspring, would seek to divide, as it were, the disgrace of having produced it, among as many as they can admit into a parti-

cipation of their counsels, and a partnership in their projects. Had they acquired any considerable degree of honour from their attempt, they would not have been so eager to distribute and divide it. The first Quixotes in the enterprize would not surely, at the end of their expedition, have conferred upon new and raw adventurers the glory which their valour had so richly deserved, and so laboriously acquired.

Gentlemen, we know that this is only one of those delusions that have been successively resorted to, in order to render the war for a longer time popular, and to prolong the patience of those who are most exposed to its sufferings and its evils. We know, that in every stage of the war, to adopt a French phrase, *delusion has been the order of the day*. Never have we had a specific object held out. At first, *the defence of Holland* was the pretext; afterwards, *the restoration of the government of 1789*. But the scenes have shifted of late so rapidly, so many various projects have been formed, so many contradictory purposes avowed, that we seem at this moment to be fighting only for the sake of hostilities alone, without any rational hope of their favourable termination. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.*

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The Jacobinism, therefore, of which we have been guilty, has been the consciousness of this delusion. We see that a desperate game has been played. We feel, at present, the consequences of it, and we shall feel them hereafter, still more bitterly, when the taxes, of which it has been so productive, begin to press with a heavier weight upon us. In the mean time, we hear, as the only excuse for the enterprise, perpetual declamations against the folly, the madness, the wickedness, and the cruelty of the French Convention. Alas ! declaiming against madness, is seldom an effectual cure for insanity. To criminate and recriminate (and this is all we seem to do) will not bring us nearer our object. Invectives against anarchy and confusion will not sharpen our bayonets, nor release us from our difficulties.—All our philippics against French government have at present procured us a very few advantages. We do not seem at present to stand in a very pleasant or beneficial situation. We have acquired a very small portion of ground, besides the spot on which our armies are encamped. The sphere of our conquests is not yet so wide as the extent of our ambition. Our arms have not yet gratified our rapacity.

For such is the enemy whom we have encountered,

tered, such the extent and variety of their resources, that one of the most formidable conspiracies that ever appeared in Europe, has been almost subdued, dis-united, and dispersed. Prussia, by our assistance, is fighting the cause of civilization and good government, by subduing the Poles. Spain retires, sickened, disheartened, and ruined in the contest; and it is said, that even Austria herself, the mother of all these calamities, the leader of the combination, is preparing to abandon the crusade. The existence, then, of civilized society, the defence of the world against the French republicans and atheists will hang on the arms of Great Britain; and even Great Britain herself, plundered, betrayed, and ridiculed by her allies, must at length lay down her hostility, with the miserable consolation, that her pride has lasted longer than her strength.

As enemies, therefore, to this destructive and impracticable system, we think ourselves fully justified in our opposition to Mr. WINDHAM, one of its most important and mischievous agents. It appears to us, that a change of cabinet arrangement will not extricate us from the disgraceful and disastrous situation in which we stand at this moment; and we have entered our protest against a fruitless and romantic scheme of unnecessary bloodshed and desolation. We will
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not suffer the real permanent interest of the nation to be put in competition with the intrigues of profligate courtiers and needy apostates. We will not allow that our battles can be successfully fought by those who wield no other weapon, but the jargon of a fallacious logic, and the language of false metaphysics.

Besides, we are in general men who subsist by the trade of the country, and we have been educated in the midst of commercial pursuits and habits. That celebrated curse, therefore, which was uttered against Commerce by the representative of this city, sounded harshly and dissonantly in our commercial ears. As the figure of a rhetorician, we cannot be supposed to understand it; but as the sentiment of a legislator, we cannot but feel and resent it. The representative of a commercial city utters an invective against Commerce! We cannot see how a constitution, the creature of Commerce, can exist without it. To the ruin of the one, we have been accustomed to associate the destruction of the other; and were it even possible that they could be dis-united and dissociated from each other, we should perhaps have that homely kind of taste, which would prefer a thriving and flourishing trade to a mere government of king, lords, and commons. The object of civil regulations we have

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uniformly imagined to be the protection of property ; and we know, that without commercial intercourse, property of no kind, beyond a cabin or a rood of land, could be acquired in civil society.

It is not then a matter of the least surprize, that we should have felt some indignation at such a sentiment,* uttered in the representative body of the nation, by the delegate of a manufacturing city. It was rather expected, that he would have been the jealous and anxious guardian of our trade, instead of pouring out execrations against it. During the progress of this unhappy war, we thought that with him our representations of suffering and distress, at least, would not pass un-

* It was said that Mr. WINDHAM had denied his having uttered the words—"PERISH COMMERCE :" and therefore, when he came to Norwich, at his election, it was universally expected that he would have completely exculpated himself from the charge. But the hon. gentleman, instead of a denial, unaccountably attempted to justify himself, by uttering the same sentiment in other words. A very respectable gentleman, on the day of nomination, pressed him to a closer explanation. In the irritated state of Mr. Windham's mind, this was too great an insult to be borne with patience ; and instead of an explanation, he poured forth a volley of passionate expressions, which his resentment could scarcely allow him to articulate. It is, therefore, taken for granted, that the right hon. gentleman uttered this sentiment, in whatever words he might have expressed it.

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noticed and neglected. For what is the original purpose of a representative government, but that the local interests of each district of the country should be consulted and preserved? A delegate, therefore, from Norwich, if he treats all complaints concerning its losses and inconveniences with levity or contempt, may be a great and profound logician, but he cannot be a good and faithful representative.

If, on account of these sentiments, the War-Minister insinuates, that we are infected with Jacobinism, we do not wish to refute the insinuation. We avow ourselves enemies to the war, and we have not dispositions, like his, hostile to peace and to commerce. *This is the very head and front of our offending.* But if he means to assert, that they who act in opposition to his principles, are necessarily disaffected to the state, and inimical to the constitution, we loudly challenge him to the proof. Perhaps the logic of Mr. WINDHAM will not be capable of demonstrating every thing which his malice may prompt him to utter. The calumny may probably answer his purpose for a while; but, unhappily, it is beyond his ingenuity to prove, that he who opposes war, is a traitor to the country; and that to speak the language of peace, is to display the spirit of sedition. None of us will question

his taste for paradox. All of us have admired the sublime and eccentric rovings of his mind; but we hold this to be beyond the extent of his capacity and the sphere of his powers.

The very reverse of such a position (if such an absurdity as this were seriously maintained) might perhaps be more susceptible of proof. We have no doubt that it will shortly be admitted. Men are tutored by events; and if recent events have taught any lesson at all, they must have taught us, that the advocates of unnecessary and absurd wars consult neither the repose nor the stability of goverment; that they are a kind of traitors, whose treason, though it works only in disguise, is more sure and effectual in its mischief. Who, therefore, have best provided for the safety and quiet of the nation? they who have raised armaments, incurred expences, and shed blood in an unprofitable and fruitless project; or they who recommended, in the beginning of the contest, conciliatory and pacific measures, which, as they are adopted soon or late, will be safe or dangerous, honourable or disgraceful?

There is something sound and discriminating in the character of Englishmen. They are not less misled and inflamed by passion, but they are perhaps

haps more controlled and corrected by their judgements, than any people in the world. A little reflection will tear the veil, which at present clouds and darkens their discernment. A correcter standard of attachment to the country will then be established. A correcter line of distinction will divide the friends and the enemies of government. They who, in spite of calumny, and the persecution of little, weak, and malevolent minds, opposed the continuance of a perilous and unnecessary war, will be tried at a more impartial tribunal, and receive an equitable and unbiassed verdict. On the other hand, they who first cheated the people, by false and hollow professions, then perplexed and misled them with sophistries, will be found in their genuine colours, like the magicians of romance, when the wand is broken and the enchantment dissolved. It is this description of characters, from whom the fabric of the constitution itself will be found to have borne the rudest and severest assaults. They will have diminished the respect that is due to legislation, by uniting with the functions of statesmen, the tricks of apostates. The consequence of their influence on government will be felt in its most dreadful and pernicious extent. For a little while, on the part of government, there will be a command without dignity; and on the part of the people, obsequiousness

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without obedience. There will be only that mouth-honour, which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not; while the ties of genuine affection and sincere attachment will be cut asunder for ever. Jealousies in the mean time will increase. The government will consider the people as a rabble, only born for controul; the people will look on government as a cabal, struggling for emolument. To these causes of animosity will be added that which arises from the oppressive burthens of the war; and a people, impoverished and insulted, oppressed and degraded, will have recourse to that last dreadful expedient, which remains to those who have made solicitations, and called for redress, in vain.--- By measures like these, mightier governments than ours have been subverted. The example even lives before our own eyes. The instruction which posterity will find in history, we may derive from experience.

Gentlemen, we are not indulging a vain and babbling spirit of prophecy. We are not uttering false and childish imaginations. One of the worst effects of the present war has been, the vigour and strength which it has given to national discontents. It has corrupted our laws; and while we have been making war on our foreign enemies, we have carried on internal hostilities against our own brethren. Many severe and

and persecuting regulations have been framed since its commencement, that are but ill suited to the genius and temper of a free constitution. Cruel and unequal laws have a tendency to corrupt and contaminate the manners of a people, more than any thing else. We have, therefore, to lament, in many of our late legislative procedures, a degree of malignity and asperity against peculiar descriptions of men, that is utterly incompatible with that soberness and equality of mind, which men in high and important stations ought carefully and steadily to preserve. The effect of these has been, that the generosity, humanity, and benevolence, which formerly characterized our nation, are almost entirely extinct among us. We have lost a great part of our public morality; we have been weaned from our partiality to truth and to justice.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the only security of our liberties, originated in that cruelty and intolerance of mind, generated by this odious and mischievous war. The measure is decidedly hostile to our constitution. It has put one party entirely at the mercy of another, and it has answered no purpose, but the gratification of the spleen and malice of those who first proposed it. By the suspension of this law, the obnoxious and suspected, who require at all times

times the most protection, are the most subject to the persecution, against which they ought to be the most anxiously secured. The magistrate is invested with a power, which he can never exercise without danger to general, by the violation of personal liberty ; and in times of high and warm tumult, when the most effectual barriers against oppressive authority are most necessary, by this act they are entirely removed and destroyed.

Such a measure, in its present consequences, may not be very mischievous or pernicious ; but all unconstitutional acts are dangerous, from this very circumstance. Were the evil effects of them to be experienced immediately, all mankind would rise up in arms to resist them. Their real operation is not often felt, till they have taken a deep and lasting root ; till they have perverted the government from its most valuable and noble purposes, and infected the whole mass of the commonwealth with their foul and corroding poison. The line may be advanced further and further, when the precedent is once established. ---That which is one year adopted upon expediency, will be resorted to, the next, as a principle.

Gentlemen, in all these procedures, of which I have mentioned only one, our representative has

has borne a zealous and an active part. We differ from the principles and opinions which his speeches have manifested. We think that they indicate too large a portion of that distempered and ill-judging policy, which only the worst administrations have ever dared to establish. The present ministry, however, have propagated the spirit of this policy with a pernicious and lamentable success. To us it appears by no means calculated to alleviate or soften the calamities of the war ; but as it springs immediately from it, so it seems likely to aggravate and increase them. It destroys that bond of union which ought to exist among members of civil communion, and it has an obvious tendency to generate premature and violent convulsions. At the same time, it deforms and defaces that fabric of government, we have been taught so vehemently to admire, and fixes on the countenance of the British constitution the features of a stern and absolute domination.

Gentlemen, it will be needless to enter into the other effects of the present absurd and disastrous war. If it has deranged and perverted our laws ; if it has assimilated our constitution to the models of a Russian or Turkish monarchy ; if it has dis-united and divided the community, and if it has destroyed and abolished our commercial

mercial prosperity, we have acted as good and virtuous citizens, in attempting to check its destructive and fatal career. We have, therefore, by our opposition to Mr. WINDHAM, exhibited a solemn record of our principles and sentiments. We know that the voice of the people will not, cannot, be despised or slighted ; and it is only by frequent and reiterated expressions of the public opinion, that its authors will be disposed to relinquish and abandon the war. It was the cry of the nation that obliged the court of CHARLES the Second to put an end to the iniquitous war, which he carried on against the Dutch ; and in our own century, the American contest was terminated on account of the loud and awful clamours of an insulted and indignant people. Perhaps, at this time, the opposition to a war, which resembles those alluded to as exactly as possible, is not sufficiently strong or universal ; but we do not despair, that it will soon be heard among us. In the mean time, it is our consolation, that we have lifted up the faintest cry against what we conceive to be a cruel, oppressive, impracticable, and rapacious system.

APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM JAMES MINGAY, ESQ.

Sir,

IT is with a mixture of pleasure and mortification, that I have perused your letter. No pleasure can exceed the glowing acquiescence in my bosom, at your manly, free, and open style. It is impossible for me not to feel the justice of every sentiment, under the impressions that dictated it. But it shall be my anxious and ready task to satisfy you, and all my other friends, that you are under a misapprehension of my conduct, which most probably has been the effect of some uncandid use that has been made of my letter to the sheriffs; and nothing can surpass the mortification I feel at the bare supposition that I am insensible of the high honor and obligation you have conferred on me, or that I should have intended the smallest degree of coolness (much less of censure) at your late noble and spirited exertions. Your letter to me becomes the character of independent Englishmen. Let me emulate your example, and de-

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serve the good opinion you have so liberally manifested of me, by being equally explicit.

Ignorant of any intention that the independent citizens of Norwich had of selecting ME as the object of their choice (and, surely, such an idea originating in my mind would have been the extremity of vanity and ambition!) I accidentally heard, on Sunday, that I had been proposed in opposition to Mr. Windham, and that a poll between us had been carried on till Saturday evening, and that it was *to be continued on Monday*. In that state of imperfect information, not knowing to whom I was indebted for so unexpected and peculiarly-flattering testimony of approbation; conscious that I was *ineligible*, and had no *timely* opportunity to remove my incapacity,---I felt it my bounden duty to the city at large, *and to my friends in particular*, to apprise them of that circumstance, through the returning-officers, and to prevent, as far as I was *then* able, the continuation of a contest and expence that must *inevitably be fruitless*. Every part of my letter to the sheriffs was intended to be directed to *that object only*; and as I wrote from the purest and most liberal motives, if I have erred in expression (of which, however, I am wholly unconscious) considering the peculiar haste and circumstances under which I acted,---your liberality

rality will, I am sure, be convinced that it was farthest from my thoughts, to disgust or offend those who were giving me such flattering testimony of their confidence and attachment.

You may confidently rely on my steady and inflexible perseverance in *those principles* that recommended me to your favor; that I continue, as I ever have done, to lament and detest the present calamitous war. Would to God, it were in my power to put an instant end to it!

Dismiss I

Believe me, sir, that no time will ever efface the impressions of gratitude which the generous and manly conduct of the *independent 770* has made on my mind, and that I shall ever hold myself ready and happy to obey their commands, and to devote myself to promote the independence, happiness, and prosperity of the city of Norwich.

I will seize the first opportunity of making my *personal* acknowledgements to all my friends, to represent whom, under such honorable circumstances, I would resign any place that government can bestow, and should esteem it the most perfect honor and satisfaction.

E 2

I beg

I beg you will assure the committee, that my brother was not at all aware that the place, I have long held, disqualified me to sit in parliament. Indeed, such a *legal* idea was not likely to occur in his mind, flushed and agitated, as it must have been, with the distinction and favors you were bestowing upon me.

With the warmest thanks to you, and the rest of the committee, for your particular zeal and efforts,

I remain,

With truth, gratitude, and regard,

Sir, Your obliged, faithful, and obedient servant,

J. MINGAY.

Bedford-Row, July 16th, 1794.

" Mr. Wm. Firth,

" Norwich."

